

## The Influence of Parents' Attention towards Student Learning Motivation

Intan Mestika<sup>1</sup>, Juntika Nurikhsan<sup>2</sup>, Nandang Budiman<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup>Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesia

[intanmestika@upi.edu](mailto:intanmestika@upi.edu)

Accepted 12 March 2023, revised 21 April 2023, published 20 September 2023

### Abstarct

Parental participation in school, play a more active role as the sources of influence on the level of parental practice that aims for educational success. But, not all parents are able to be present on their children study. Therefore, this study is to aim the answer does parents involvement affects student learning motivation. The authors will use research with the literature review method. In this method, power is obtained from results in the form of research, reading, analyzing, evaluating, and concluding supporting readings in the form of journals on the themes discussed. This method helps researches to learn about the history and nature of the themes being discussed. There a five hierarchy of needs to keep students motivated to perform well at school. Physiological needs, safety and security, love and belonging, self-esteem, and self actualization. The students need to be fulfilled by the parents to reach it's ultimate aim. Based on the literature review and discussion, it's possible to infer that learning motivation and parental participation are inextricably linked and cannot be separated. Achievement motivation is a phenomenon in students that is influenced by a variety of circumstances. The following phenomena of poor motivation for student accomplishments will have impact on kids' academic progress at school.

Kata kunci: Parental participation, Students motivation, Maslow.

### Introduction

Family-school collaboration is attracting more and more attention from researchers and, more recently, from politicians, as a means likely to counter school dropout (CFE, 2000; Deslandes, 2001; Henderson and Mapp, 2002; Jordan, Orozco and Averett, 2001; Government of Quebec, 2002). Greater family-school collaboration results, among other things, in a higher level of participation on the part of parents. Parental participation in school monitoring corresponds to a parental practice that aims for educational success, the latter representing a socialization objective (Deslandes, 2001). Parental participation is therefore one of the components of the parental role (Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler, 1997). Many studies have highlighted the positive links between certain modes of parental involvement. For example, it appears that traditional and more educated families participate more in school monitoring than single-parent families with little education (Baker and Stevenson, 1986; Deslandes, Potvin and Leclerc, 2000; Dornbusch and Ritter, 1992; Grolnick and Slowiaczek, 1994 ). Parents with few children participate more in home monitoring, but family size does not seem to affect their participation in school (Dauber and Epstein, 1993). Mothers who work outside are less involved in school, but their participation at home is not diminished (Eccles and Harold, 1996; Dauber and Epstein, 1993). Others have examined the characteristics of children and adolescents as sources of influence regarding parental involvement. Studies show that mothers communicate more with teachers when the student is male (Deslandes, 2001). Parents tend to help more a child who has, for the first time, difficulties at school (Eccles and Harold, 1996). On the other hand, they decrease their commitment as the child moves from one school year to another (Deslandes and Bertrand, 2001). school difficulties (Eccles and Harold, 1996). On the other hand, they decrease their commitment as the child moves from one school year to another (Deslandes and Bertrand, 2001). school difficulties (Eccles and Harold, 1996). On the other

hand, they decrease their commitment as the child moves from one school year to another (Deslandes and Bertrand, 2001). Another group looked at the perceptions, beliefs and expectations of different school actors with regard to each other. Thus, many teachers believe that parents do not want to participate more than they currently do. Parents find that teachers blame them for their child's difficulties; they feel like intruders at school (Connors and Epstein, 1994; Deslandes, 2001). In addition, teachers express their expectations of parents, especially in terms of supervision of homework and accountability, while parents talk, among other things, about the availability of teachers and the need to provide feedback to students at the continuation of school work carried out at home (Deslandes and Morin, 2002). However, it seems that a convergence in perceptions. Finally, more recently, some authors have studied the sources of influence on parental participation from the angle of psychological variables, such as parents' feeling of competence, their understanding of their parental role and invitations to participate from the share of teachers (Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler, 1995, 1997). Focusing on this last angle, this is what we have tried to answer in this study. Does parents involvement affects student learning motivation? First, we will discuss the theoretical framework. We will then discuss the methodology used, and the main research results followed by the discussion.

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory has five levels. Where these five levels are very influential on student motivation. The first is that students must first fulfill their physiological needs in the form of basic needs such as clothing, food and shelter in order to live their life (Gorman, 2010). The second level is security, if there is a sense of security in which there is peace, certainty, and order in the management where they study, it will become an active supporter in their motivation to study. The third level, is the feeling of belonging and being loved. Compatibility with an environment is a high motivation in learning because students will feel fit and more able to express themselves in the intended environment and have a sense of ownership of what students have (Maslow, 1943). The fourth level is the level where a student must be able to deal with their self-esteem needs. Here, students will feel more confident about their abilities in learning if students get achievements and self-recognition from others about what is achieved (Gorman, 2010). The last level, namely the fifth level, is self-actualization. Here is the highest level because it is the students themselves who will actualize themselves to fulfill their personal potential in the learning process. Students will try by themselves to achieve learning goals (Gorman, 2010). However, this fifth level can only be obtained if students can meet their needs at levels one through four.

## **Methods**

This study the authors will use research with the literature review method. In this method, power is obtained from results in the form of research, reading, analyzing, evaluating, and concluding supporting readings in the form of journals on the themes discussed. This method helps researchers to learn about the history and nature of the themes being discussed, helps identify problems from the research being conducted. This literature review method is carried out in several stages. Namely conducting research by determining literacy related to the theme to determine gaps that can be discussed. The second is reading articles as well as several sources of information that can be accessed, then analyzing the readings found so that their relevance can be linked. The next step is to evaluate whether the reading is relevant to what the author is researching. Finally, explain why the article is relevant to the author's research.

## **Findings dan Discussion**

When in the classroom, student may get distracted of several things. Although they are sitting in the classroom while teacher deliver their materials, their minds could have fly onto thinking other things, such as personal lives, hobbies, games, talks, friendships or even physical distress like hunger, insecurities and tiredness. This supported by several studies that have conducted to be a critical evidence that those distraction is affect student's learning (e.g., Fernandes & Mosocovitch, 2000; Foerde, Knowlton, & Poldrack, 2006; Glass & Kang, 2019), as for results, it revealed that student who is distracted will be having bad outcomes on their study. These sidetracking issues rises will eventually put their real needs in this case, education below their priority. In the opinion of one human psychologist, this occurs because the student's immediate needs determine the action they take immediately. These distractions dominate their attention when they worry about them. Education and accomplishment will be pushed aside as a result of those preoccupations. Getting our students to prioritize education requires capturing their attention and getting

them focused. By removing distractions, teachers can allow students' top priorities to be course material, education, and accomplishment. Human beings are motivated by goals and accomplishment. Achieving goals allows humans to meet their individual wants and needs.

Parents must be involved in their children's education both at home and at school. However, most parents nowadays only care about their children's performance in pre-school or elementary school, not in secondary schools or colleges. As a result, research focuses on parental involvement in early infancy (Liu et al., 2020). Parents are less engaged at secondary schools due to i) a challenging curriculum, ii) children's independence, and iii) families being more focused on smaller children. Parents' attention and involvement in their educational area was noted to be weak at this level. This is despite their awareness of the value of their attention and assistance. Parents engaged gave reasons such as a tough curriculum and syllabus, students in senior schools becoming self-sufficient, and parents wanting to focus more on their younger children (Breiner et al., 2016). However, parents' reasons are contested. This is because parental involvement in their children's education does not always entail direct participation. It can also happen indirectly, and involvement isn't just restricted to school; it can also happen at home (Myers, 2021).

According to (Fan & Chen, 2001), achievement motivation serves as a mediator between parental participation and student achievement. They agreed that parental participation increased adolescents' achievement directly, but motivation in the intervening period had a more profound impact. Students will work harder if their goals are clear and supported by their parents and teachers. Parents' encouragement, attentiveness, and collaboration all contributed to the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation examined in this study. Furthermore, according to a study conducted by researcher Waterford (2018), families who consistently assist their children at home are more likely to achieve superior academic performance. Parents' influence will provide students with better direction and help them understand why they do what they do and why they apply to college.

The importance of needs is mentally prioritized according to Maslow's 1943 hierarchy of needs. A number of less immediate needs must be met before more significant needs can be met. As a person moves from satisfying lower-priority needs to achieving higher-priority needs, his or her actions will be focused on satisfying lower-priority needs first. A person's physiological needs are of highest priority at the bottom of the pyramid and must be met first. In addition to these needs, we need nourishment, sleep, clothing, and shelter. The study of Schmidt (2020) revealed physiological requirements must be met before people can focus on anything else - otherwise, they will focus exclusively on meeting these physiological needs. In the eyes of humans, they are the most important and influential driving forces. Hunger will override any other wants or wishes, and a person will focus only on satisfying their hunger. The hunger of a student may cause them to behave in a distracting or rule-breaking way because their priority is not education but hunger. Having lost sleep the night before, students may fall asleep in class instead of concentrating on their assignments. In this example, the student would naturally prioritize sleep over education.

The next priority after physiological needs has been met is safety. A student's safety needs are usually environmental in nature. These include the environment they're living in at home, their school environment, and any other environment they are regularly exposed to. In cases where the student is experiencing personal difficulties at home (e.g., arguing parents, parents suffering from addiction, lack of parental structure, etc.) or lives in a dangerous area, they will have difficulty learning. A student who feels bullied by their teacher or who does not feel accepted and liked by him or her will also struggle to make progress in learning and completing his or her work. Keeping themselves safe will be their top priority. Structure and predictability is factors students associate with safety, as they thrive on them. As how Schmidt (2019) conclude that disruptions hinder their performance. Lacking a routine or being threatened by factors that threaten their routines can result in them feeling unsafe and apprehensive. Students may suffer from poor performance as a result.

Once student's physiological and safety requirements are fulfilled, then the priority could be shifted to the emotion side, on how love and the sense of belonging—which rooted to feeling responsible towards their study. This matter applies on the primary and social relationship which related to the family lead by parents and how their relation with their friends. There are plenty ways of student could develop their sense of belonging, one of it is by joining clubs, and become a volunteer of social services and some group activities that include commitments on the progress. Usually, whenever someone doesn't feel loved or belonged into

something they possibly crave for any affection they could craved to get the acceptance feeling in a social settings. One person could not afford being forgotten or left out, it is bad for their physiological being. Instead of solely focusing on cognitive skills, parents need to be more concerned on emotional skills, because it can always be upgraded, and changed overtime, not only that parents can also help the student to manage it by greater good. Goleman (1995) in his book titled “Emotional Intelligence: Why It Can Matter More Than IQ.” He managed to describe there are five features of EQ (Emotional Intelligence) that needs to be known. (1) know our emotions (self-awareness), (2) manage our emotions (self-regulation), 3) motivate ourselves to achieve our goals (self-motivation), (4) recognize emotions in others (empathy), and (5) manage relationships with others (social skills).

The exploration of worldwide viewpoints on the significance of parental participation and social/emotional skills in the academic performance of school-age (and beyond) children gives a rich and complex background for comprehending the issue in other cultures. This research review focused on parental participation and social/emotional abilities. It also emphasized its relevance to children's scholastic performance and growth as full persons and future leaders in a rapidly globalizing world. Positive parenting communication and dynamics that foster social/emotional skills (e.g., problem solving, self-regulation, empathy, etc.) are central to this setting (Roy & Giraldo-García, 2018).

While some research suggests that high school students who spend more time working on their homework and are monitored by their parents have higher grades, other studies suggest that supporting and encouraging students' aspirations also has a significant positive effect on students' performance achievement, as the students are then guided by their intrinsic motivation. Early parental participation (e.g., reading books together, supportive surroundings) improves young children's behavior and attitudes toward learning and is a major predictor of academic performance, according to research (Waters, 2014). The objective is to raise children who are prepared to tackle obstacles in different interpersonal relationships. This is in academic situations where parents do not actively engage, as well as those that arise throughout their lives outside of and beyond school.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs is a pyramid-like framework made up of five essential requirements: physiological needs, safety, social needs, esteem, and self-actualization. Providing these essentials will aid child's development and evolution.



Self-esteem is the next step towards overcoming. Individuality, respect for others, accomplishment, and confidence are all components of self-esteem. Most people are quite critical of themselves, stemming from their own assessment of their own accomplishments and potential. Self-esteem has two components. For starters, people seek achievement, confidence, competence, and fortitude. Second, they crave prominence, respect, recognition, and prestige. People will feel competent, capable, powerful, and worthwhile when all of their requirements have been met.

People will feel inept, unsafe, and irrelevant if these requirements are not met. There are several studies supporting this idea, parents' involvement during the students way of learning is learned to be as effective as getting trophies (Moneva et al., 2020). To put it another way, self-esteem and parental participation are linked. A student with strong self-esteem may achieve higher academic accomplishments than a student with low self-esteem. Parents must also support and guide their children in their educational endeavors, not just financially.

Self-esteem and parental participation contribute to improved academic performance. Self-esteem and parental involvement are linked. In this research, it has been shown that students' self-esteem affects their academic achievement; students with high self-esteem are more confident than students with low self-esteem. Furthermore, pupils with extensive academic accomplishment tend to be more confident than those without confidence and achieve less. Based on the evaluated data, student self-esteem and parental engagement are considered to be in agreement. Self-esteem in students and parental participation are connected. Parents who inspire their children can help them develop stronger self-esteem. Academic performance will increase if children have a stronger self-esteem. As a result, parents who are not involved in their child's schooling may experience decreased self-esteem.

These first four demands are all classified as deprivation needs. If these requirements are not met, people will be motivated to work on achieving their highest-priority needs. Following these deprivation requirements comes self-actualization. This is a desire to reach one's full potential. This desire is not motivated by insufficiency, but rather by self-improvement. Maslow says relatively few people reach this level. People who are self-actualized are impetuous, autonomous, analytical, and practical. Students desire to feel wanted, appreciated, and nourished to satisfy their demands for belonging, self-esteem, and affection. Teachers or school personnel may satisfy students. As instructors and leaders, we must treat each student as an individual, recognizing and embracing their distinct personality features.

Place a premium on healthy, ethical conduct and self-esteem. Make an effort to show kids how much you appreciate their dedication and work and devotion. This prioritizing will help each learner develop self-esteem and self-worth. Abraham Maslow, an American humanist and psychologist, proposed the notion of a hierarchy of needs in a 1943 paper titled "A Theory of Human Motivation" and his later book *Motivation and Personality*. According to this view, humans are born with an inbuilt drive for self-actualization, or the urge to be what they want to be. However, to reach this ultimate aim, a number of essential necessities must be met. Food, safety, love, and self-esteem are among these requirements.

## **Conclusion**

Based on the literature review and discussion above, it is possible to infer that learning motivation and parental participation are inextricably linked and cannot be separated. Parents are supposed to help pupils meet Maslow's five hierarchy of needs to keep students motivated to perform well at school. Achievement motivation is a phenomenon in students that is influenced by a variety of circumstances. The following phenomena of poor motivation for student accomplishments will have an impact on kids' academic progress at school. It is often assumed that parents (mother and father) influence student achievement motivation. That is, the heightened the care of parents (Mother and Father), the increasing the desire for student accomplishment.

## **Acknowledge**

The author would like to thank the Postgraduate Studies Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia for providing the opportunity to write this scientific work. The author also thanks Prof. Dr. Juntika Nurikhsan and Dr. Nandang Budiman, M.Si as the supervisor who has contributed his thoughts in perfecting this scientific work

## **References**

- Baker, D. P., & Stevenson, D. L. (1986). Mothers' strategies for children's school achievement: Managing the transition to high school. *Sociology of Education*, 59(3), 156–166. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2112340>
- Breiner, H., Ford, M., & Gadsden, V. L. (2016). *Parenting Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices*. Nih.gov; National Academies Press (US). <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK402020>
- Desforges, C., & Abouchar, A. (2003). *The Impact of Parental Involvement, Parental Support and Family*



Education on Pupil Achievements and Adjustment: A Literature Review Professor Charles Desforges with Alberto Abouchaar RESEARCH. [https://www.nationalnumeracy.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/impact\\_of\\_parental\\_involvement/the\\_impact\\_of\\_parental\\_involvement.pdf](https://www.nationalnumeracy.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/impact_of_parental_involvement/the_impact_of_parental_involvement.pdf)

- Deslandes, R. (2019). A framework for school-family collaboration integrating some relevant factors and processes. *Aula Abierta*, 48(1), 11. <https://doi.org/10.17811/rifie.48.1.2019.11-18>
- Deslandes, R., Potvin, P., & Leclerc, D. (2000). Les liens entre l'autonomie de l'adolescent, la collaboration parentale et la réussite scolaire [Links between adolescent autonomy, parental involvement, and school success]. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science / Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 32(4), 208–217. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0087117>
- Dornbusch, S. M., Ritter, P. L., & Steinberg, L. (1991). Community influences on the relation of family statuses to adolescent school performance: Differences between African Americans and non-Hispanic Whites. *American Journal of Education*, 99(4), 543–567. <https://doi.org/10.1086/443997>
- Eccles, J. S., & Harold, R. D. (1996). Family involvement in children's and adolescents' schooling. In A. Booth & J. F. Dunn (Eds.), *Family–school links: How do they affect educational outcomes?* (pp. 3–34). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Eccles, J. S., & Harold, R. D. (1996). Family involvement in children's and adolescents' schooling. In A. Booth & J. F. Dunn (Eds.), *Family–school links: How do they affect educational outcomes?* (pp. 3–34). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Fan, X., & Chen, M. (2001). Parental Involvement and Students' Academic Achievement: A Meta-Analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, 13(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1009048817385>
- Fernandes, M. A., & Moscovitch, M. (2000). Divided attention and memory: Evidence of substantial interference effects at retrieval and encoding. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 129(2), 155–176. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0096-3445.129.2.155>
- Glass, A. L., & Kang, M. (2019). Dividing attention in the classroom reduces exam performance. *Educational Psychology*, 39(3), 395–408. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01443410.2018.1489046>
- Government of Quebec. (2002). Management of Quebec government copyrights. <http://www.droitauteur.gouv.qc.ca>. <http://www.droitauteur.gouv.qc.ca/en/copyright.php>
- Grolnick, W. S., & Slowiaczek, M. L. (1994). Parents' involvement in children's schooling: A multidimensional conceptualization and motivational model. *Child Development*, 65(1), 237–252. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1131378>
- Hill, N. E., & Tyson, D. F. (2009). Parental involvement in middle school: A meta-analytic assessment of the strategies that promote achievement. *Developmental Psychology*, 45(3), 740–763. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015362>
- Hill, N. E., Castellino, D. R., Lansford, J. E., Nowlin, P., Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., & Pettit, G. S. (2004). Parent Academic Involvement as Related to School Behavior, Achievement, and Aspirations: Demographic Variations Across Adolescence. *Child Development*, 75(5), 1491–1509. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2004.00753.x>
- Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Sandler, H. M. (1997). Why Do Parents Become Involved in Their Children's Education? *Review of Educational Research*, 67(1), 3–42. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543067001003>
- Jordan, C., Orozco, E., & Averett, A. (2002). Emerging Issues in School, Family, & Community Connections. Annual Synthesis 2001. In ERIC. National Center for Family and Community Connections with Schools. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED536949>
- Knowlton, B. J., & Foerde, K. (2008). Neural Representations of Nondeclarative Memories. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 17(2), 107–111. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2008.00558.x>
- Lent RW, Brown SD, Hackett G. Contextual supports and barriers to career choice: A social cognitive analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. 2000;47:36–49.
- Liu, Y., Sulaimani, M. F., & Henning, J. E. (2020). The Significance of Parental Involvement in the Development in Infancy. *Journal of Educational Research and Practice*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.5590/jerap.2020.10.1.11>
- Moneva, J. C., Villaro, M. R. A., & Malbas, M. H. (2020). Student Self-Esteem and Parental Involvement in Students Academic Performances. *International Journal of Social Science Research*, 8(2), 238. <https://doi.org/10.5296/ijssr.v8i2.17219>
- Myers, S. (2021). CSUSB ScholarWorks CSUSB ScholarWorks Electronic Theses, Projects, and

Dissertations Office of Graduate Studies PARENT INVOLVEMENT AND STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT: EFFECTS PARENT INVOLVEMENT AND STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT: EFFECTS OF INDIRECT PARENT INVOLVEMENT ON STUDENT OF INDIRECT PARENT INVOLVEMENT ON STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT IN MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT IN MATHEMATICS.

<https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2424&context=etd#:~:text=On%20the%20other%20hand%2C%20indirect>

- Roy, M., & Giraldo-García, R. (2018). The Role of Parental Involvement and Social/ Emotional Skills in Academic Achievement: Global Perspectives. *School Community Journal*, 28(2). <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1201955.pdf>
- Sacher, W., Sliwka, A., Tschöpe-Scheffler, S., Walper, S., and Wild, E. (2013). Qualitätsmerkmale schulischer Elternarbeit: Ein Kompass für die partnerschaftliche Zusammenarbeit von Schule und Elternhaus [Quality characteristics of family-school involvement: A compass for the partnership between school and family]. (Düsseldorf: Vodafone Stiftung).
- Schmidt, S. J. (2019). Embracing and Harnessing the Intimate Connection Between Emotion and Cognition to Help Students Learn. *Journal of Food Science Education*, 18(4), 87–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1541-4329.12167>
- Schmidt, S. J. (2020). Distracted learning: Big problem and golden opportunity. *Journal of Food Science Education*, 19(4). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1541-4329.12206>
- Schulenberg J, Goldstein AE, Vondracek FW. Gender differences in adolescents' career interests: Beyond main effects. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*. 1991;1:37–61.
- Silinskas, G., and Kikas, E. (2011). Parental Involvement in math homework: links to children's performance and motivation. *Scand. J. Educ. Res.*, 1470–1170. doi: 10.1080/00313831.2017.1324901
- Trice AD, McClellan N. Do children's career aspirations predict adult occupations? An answer from a secondary analysis of a longitudinal study. *Psychological Reports*. 1993;72:368–370.
- Waterford. (2018, November 1). How Parent Involvement Leads to Student Success. [Waterford.org. https://www.waterford.org/education/how-parent-involvement-leads-to-student-success/](https://www.waterford.org/education/how-parent-involvement-leads-to-student-success/)
- Wild, E., and Yodyodying, S. (2012). “Studying at home: with whom and in which way? Homework practices and conflicts in the family” in *The politicization of parenthood*. eds. M. Richter and S. Andresen (Berlin, Germany: Springer), 165–180.
- Xu, M., Kushner Benson, S., Mudrey-Camino, R., and Steiner, R. (2010). The relationship between parental involvement, self-regulated learning, and reading achievement of fifth graders: a path analysis using the ECLS-K database. *Soc. Psychol. Educ.* 13, 237–269. doi: 10.1007/s11218-009-9104-4
- Yotyodying, S., and Wild, E. (2014). Antecedents of different qualities of home-based parental involvement: findings from a cross-cultural study in Germany and Thailand. *Learn. Cult. Soc. Interact.* 3, 98–110. doi: 10.1016/j.lcsi.2014.02.002
- Young RA, Friesen JD. The intentions of parents in influencing the career development of their children. *Career Development Quarterly*. 1992;40:198–207